/438/ The more inflexible the raw material is from which our Indian manufactures his possessions, the more convincingly apparent are the creative and organizing power of his spirit, his keen gift of observation, and his dexterity. Repeated attempts must have preceded the shapes and the individual pieces chosen for the permanent store of possessions of this tribe and retained by many generations. If we examine each individual item, its extreme appropriateness in every respect becomes so clear that we realize hardly anything can be improved to any extent which would at the same time also increase the efficiency of the object. By itself the object looks poor and artless, but if you see how it is applied and used and with what little effort it functions very accurately, you cannot refrain from marveling at its merits.

If we compare the accounts since the middle of the nineteenth century with the reports from the first two centuries in which Europeans and Yamana came together, it is apparent that a change has taken place in the utilization of individual objects. By this I do not mean that European goods, such as knives and axes, have been taken over, but that bow and arrow were gradually superseded by the sling. The real reason for this -- to mention the point already -- seems to be the introduction and swift adoption everywhere of the dog. The dog serves the Indian in various ways in his hunt for otter. We know that it is not easy to aim accurately with bow and arrow from a canoe. I have forcibly expressed the opinion that only after the Europeans discovered the Yamana did the dog become their inevitable companion, which is how travelers have designated this animal since the middle of the last century. Aside from this small change, all the things that are used daily have been preserved in their original form until the present time.

The implements and weapons of our Fuegians cannot be too thoroughly investigated and observed in their use. They reveal a gift of creative invention in these Indians, who have been wrongly underestimated and so often pitied as the "most miserable people." Yet they have created tools for themselves which make it very much easier for them to obtain food and to protect their bodies.

/998 cont./

223 On a stormy, rainy night the cormorants sleep soundly. They stick their head under a wing and bury it deep in their feathers. The hunter creeping on all fours is certain to get at them without having to exert undue caution. With a sure, firm grip of both hands he grasps the bare neck of the animal, immediately plunges his teeth into the vertigo of the neck left free between his fists, and while he is biting into the neck, his two fists crack it through. The animal dies without a sound. The hunter immediately seizes the next one in the same manner. Nevertheless, sometimes a dying animal will utter a soft sound or struggle convulsively. This wakens the birds standing nearby. The hunter calms them by moving /998/ a dead bird upright with his hands and having it bow gently from one side to the other. Thanks to the darkness of the night and the confusion of the storm, the startled bird is soon quieted and, deceived, puts its head back under its wing. The hunter then kills back further until he is content with his rich booty (247). He leaves the animals he has killed until the next

247. Twice Bridges (MSS.III, 116, 1869 and MSS.XIII, 187, 1870) describes in great detail a Tarasco attack on cormorants.

evening, and as inconspicuously as he came, he departs. His chief concern is not to startle this flock of birds because they will probably spend the night here again in the near future, and he would prefer to come again not in vain (248).

998] 248. Furthermore, Fray Jay (n) 184 maintains: "On moonlight nights, birds are caught when roosting, not only by the men but by their dogs, which are sent out to seize them while asleep upon the rocks or beach; and so well are these dogs trained, that they bring all they catch safely to their masters" /tried in English/.

/5th cont./

223 men about this. They assured me that an arrow was much too precious to their ancestors to waste it on a bird, and that the other implements proved more effective for catching birds.

Naturally, there is a difference in the frequency with which the various methods are used in various regions. The decisive factor is the special type of bird and the Indian's desire for variety in his monotonous diet. Every man is more or less skillful in all the various maneuvers and therefore probably always successful. In particular details the Yamana frequently proved exactly like their neighbors on the Great Island (Vol. I, 193).

A prevailing habit among our Fuegians is that every man eviscerates on the spot the birds he has caught. He places the animal on its back, opens its belly with a knife or a sharp mussel shell, and pulls out all the internal organs with a single movement. He almost always finds water close by, which he scoops up with his hand, rinsing out the abdominal cavity of the bird. [193] He pulls a leather strap through the beaks and either ties it around his hips so that the birds encircle his body or he places it over his shoulder so that the birds are evenly distributed front and back. In this way he always has his hands free, for it is possible that other prey will cross his path, which he does not want to escape and which he must pursue without losing a moment of time.

4. Hunting Guanacos, Otters, Foxes

224 Although the Yamana sometimes hunt the guanaco, the otter, and the large fox, they do it not so much for their meat, but chiefly, and in the case of the last two species, exclusively, for their skin. The way they capture these mammals remains to be described.

The guanaco (*Lama huanachus*) lives only in the eastern part of Tierra del Fuego, on both shores of Beagle Channel, approximately from Puerto Bayo on Picton Harbor on eastward and throughout Navarino Island. The hunter [illegible] on foot, for his dogs are only now and then trained for this and as a rule do not help him much. Hence several men always band together for a hunting expedition. [235] /235/ They take advantage of

1. Gusinde--949 E-6 (1918-1924) 1987 3196 Yahgan 3196

224 [illegible], and the sea otter, ajapex. If the Yamana wants an otter, he is almost always dependent on the help of his dogs, but he himself discovers and lies in wait for it, since the Fuegian dog does not have a sufficiently sensitive nose for hunting in the water. The hunter recognizes the presence of an otter by the fresh remnants of sea urchins on the beach. Led on by this spoor, he gets into his vessel on a sunny, calm day. He always keeps close to a coast with rocks and large stones. Long practice has given him a sharp eye, and he looks out in all directions.

Wherever an otter comes up from the water to breathe, the Indian hunters up to it. It is, of course, the woman who rows the canoe swiftly and silently while the man stands in the bow and keeps his weapon ready. When he is close enough to the otter to hurl the harpoon successfully, he tries to do so. If the animal was mortally hit, it is easily lifted into the canoe. Even a skin with holes in it is better than nothing for the Indian, because he can always use individual small parts in one way or another.

224 23[illegible] Otherwise the otter hurries to shore and seeks refuge in its lodge. It is only now that the Indian lets his dogs, which have been watching the otter all the time, leap into the water and follow its spoor. Soon they discover the lodge, and one of the dogs goes in. If he should not venture to do so, his master forces him into an entrance. Inside a severe battle immediately develops. The dogs always attack the otter head-on. They try to bite its face. After a struggle they succeed in sinking their sharp teeth into the otter's brain, killing it instantly.

The otter resists furiously throughout the entire fight, and whistling loudly, he stands his ground against the dogs. Usually he lies on his back and turns his head as fast as lightning in all directions. He bites and rips his attackers quite pitilessly. The dogs are trained not to grasp the /537/ otter anywhere except on their heads. If possible, the valuable skin is not to be riddled with holes by their teeth. Inevitably the dog receives many severe and deep bites, for the nimble otter knows how to defend himself successfully, but usually the dog wins and the otter seeks a last refuge in flight from the lodge. Outside, however, there are not only other dogs waiting, but the Indian himself. He finally succumbs to so many opponents, even if the hunter has to hurl a spear at him. Also, even the hunter leaps on the otter, grasps him, and strangles

/537 cont./

224 231 him without fear of painful bites. When the animal is sufficiently exhausted or if it might still escape, the hunter takes it by a hind leg and, swinging it high into the air, beats it against a large stone on which its head is shattered. Afterwards, when the dogs whine with pain for hours or are lame for days, one realizes what a pitiful condition they are in (261). They are the ones that

261. See the accounts of Hahn in Hyades (q):363 and of Weber, passim.

overcome an otter and thereby perform an indispensable service for their masters (262). The otter skin is preferred for clothing

262. Dabbene (b):185 and Hyades (q):353 overlook the fact that in the otter hunt the dog is the decisive factor. Hyades (g):35 writes somewhat more accurately elsewhere.

(p. 57); that is why one Fuegian or another will hunt these animals.

We cannot speak of an actual fox hunt. Hyades (h):21 gave a not altogether reliable explanation in the following words: "The Fuegians...replied that their dogs hunt the foxes alone, that they track them down and, after having killed them, bring them back to their masters...Moreover, it is believed that they do not care much for fox hunting; they do not like to eat its meat" /translated from French/.

The large fox (Canis magellanicus) on the southern shore of Isla Grande and the small fox (Canis griseus) on several islands are known as čilaǰa; both species occur only here and there (p. 35 /untranslated/). No Indian bothers about them or hunts them with traps or bait. He has no special use for the skin; hence he does not make special weapons for the fox hunt. Actually it is only the keen scent and the power of the dogs which occasionally track down a fox. If the Indian deduces this from his dog's behavior, he lets himself be led to the place where the dead fox is lying. His dogs are not well enough trained to carry the booty to their master by themselves. Usually the battle takes place between a fox in his lair and several dogs that have discovered him there. He succumbs

/537 cont./

224 to the superior number and the rage of his opponents. After the
23/ Indian has skinned the fox, he tosses the entire body to his dogs;
he very decidedly scorns this meat.

22 Among the few species of mammals on the Cape Horn Archipelago, seals occupy first place in the food quest of the Yamana. /538/ They are hunted not only because of their meat, but because their skins are urgently needed. The very desirable whale is primarily regarded as an occasional present that provides for many families over a long period. In comparison the guanaco is much less important because it is locally confined, and the otter actually furnishes only its skin. Tracking down a fox is a matter for the dogs. The many bird species that the Indian hunts could hardly be dispensed with in his household. Sometimes he is wholly dependent on them alone.

5. The Woman in the Food Quest

462 Among the Yamana, man and wife form an economic cooperative, and it is especially in the matter of obtaining food that they are dependent on one another. The woman, of course, does not take an active part in the hunt, which is regarded as a vital duty of the man, but she sometimes helps him indirectly by means of absolutely necessary knacks. She, as mistress of the canoe, takes him to those places where he wants to try his luck and go after game. She shares with him the difficulties of perilous crossings and long watches through the hours of the night when he devotes himself to catching birds. Finally, she brings him, along with his booty, to a safe place where both of them can enjoy a well-earned rest after all their trouble and exertions.

Far beyond the limited participation of the man in procuring food, she makes a considerable, altogether independent contribution to the support of her family by means of an activity that she alone can carry on. This is gathering, for which she is equipped by nature and to which she can devote herself without jeopardizing her more important duties as mother and wife. This activity is actually an important supplement to her husband's hunting activities. It is her duty to bring in lower animals and vegetable products.

/553 cont./

226 daily tasks. Hence every other type of fishing, with the exception of the occasional mass-catch of fiesci, is avoided as much as possible (297).

462

297. According to Hyades (h):20: ". . . the ease with which they get fish among the large algae relieves them of all the work of making a fishing pen" /translated from French/, and the same is equally true of similar arrangements.

222 5. Birds. Birds' eggs are also counted among the foods from the animal kingdom by our Fuegian natives. Earlier travelers, for example, Fitz-Roy (a):184, often observed that "eggs are eagerly sought for by the natives" /cited in English/. Spring is the time for them. Wherever the family lands, the girls and women hunt [462] for the nests of larger birds. They do not choose among them, nor does it bother them if the eggs have been sat on for some time. Their hunt is, without exception, rewarded by a rich harvest, for they are very familiar with the brooding places of all kinds of birds. Gathering is very easy where penguins brood, for they lay large eggs. The women bring their harvest to the canoe or the hut in their little baskets, and it is promptly consumed. They never risk any special dangers in order to obtain birds' eggs.

223 At the beginning of summer they also take young birds of large species still in the nest. They kill the tender animal by hitting it on the head with a stone or stick or by beating it hard against a rock. Above all, when they search out the breeding places of cormorants and penguins, they quickly fill their baskets with this game. Young cormorants cannot escape beyond the immediate vicinity of their nest because their wings cannot as yet carry them from the height of their nest into the sea, and penguins are likewise nest-bound because they do not yet know how to move in the water.

223 For entertainment and out of playfulness, the women also like to take an occasional young bird to their hut where they feed it until it is full-grown. If it proves tame enough, it is

/553 cont./

231 kept alive; otherwise it is one day devoured. This explains why in early summer in the huts of the Indians we find at least half a dozen young birds, all very familiar with each other, although they usually belong to different species. They belong to the family (298), so to speak, and are a plaything for children.

298. Lothrop (b):159 "has seen young upland geese and gulls thus tamed" /cited in English/.

β. Food From the Vegetable Kingdom

262 The inclement weather of the Cape Horn Archipelago permits only a few types of plants to reach maturity, and the soil yields only a very few things that the Indian can use for food. A vegetable diet has no basic significance for them. It would be inaccurate to speak of actual subsistence on the vegetable kingdom. The Indian gets only a small taste from it now and then, which, as such, is monotonous and, in /554/ comparison with his meat consumption, quite unimportant (299). Mother Nature

299. Fitz-Roy (a):185 expressed himself very definitely on this point: "Of vegetable food they have very little: a few berries, cranberries, and those which grow on the arbutus, and a kind of fungus which is found on the birch-tree, being the only sorts used" /cited in English/.

voluntarily offers him fungi and berries of various kinds, and these, as we realize, are mere condiments. They are gathered [462] only by women and girls; men strip off a few fruits in passing and immediately pop them into their mouths without any kind of preparation.

222 262 1. Fungi. If we consider the conditions of vegetation in the Yamana region, we are not surprised to find a great abundance of mushrooms and fungi there. /Fig. 66 appears here./ There are no very poisonous kinds. Some are spongy; others have a woody

/360 cont./

7. The Fuegian Dog

231
114

The dog, yáhla, must be regarded as a constant, indispensable member of the Fuegian family; it is taken for granted /361/ just like the children. The fact that the dog as their companion has been historically acknowledged for only a century is by no means without significance in the appraisal of the economic life of our Indians. The dog does not appear in written accounts nor in pictures given by the navigators of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (314). If we realize how obtrusively and persistently

314. Banks was the first European to report on the native dogs belonging to the Selk'nam whom he met on the southeast shore of Isla Grande in the year 1768. See Vol. I, 276.

Indian dogs rush up to every stranger and how excited they are for hours during his presence in the camp or in an individual hut, we are forced to conclude that those travelers of the earliest period just did not see the Fuegian dog and that the Yamana did not as yet own dogs. The conduct of these animals towards strangers is exceptionally conspicuous. No one recounting his experiences and impressions could have failed to describe the impudent behavior of the dogs (315).

315. These words surely do not express an unjustified expectation. Even if the native dogs had been friendly to the foreign visitor, the very fact that they were found in the company of Indians would have been reason enough for mentioning them. For example, Captain John Narbrough tells about his visit among the Patagonians in Puerto San Julián on the southern Patagonian coast, August 16, 1670, and says, among other things: "Their dogs are much of the race of Spanish dogs, large mongrel, but very tame: they were of a grey colour and were painted red in spots: they were very lean" /cited in

•231
114

/361 cont./

English/ (Burney:III, 345). Not even such modest references are given in the older travel accounts of those navigators who expressed themselves in detail and sometimes also very accurately about many other things concerning our Yamana.

In the face of complete silence for more than two centuries, we cannot help but be surprised that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, almost simultaneously, several different first references are made to the Fuegian dog. Weddell (a):94 is the first European to speak of it. On November 28, 1823, his fleet lay at anchor in Bahía San Francisco, between Horn Island and Hermit Island. Here one of his sailors acquired a young dog "which was conspicuous because of its intelligence." In this connection he relates that those natives "have only this kind of dog which resembles very much the fox and is about the size of a terrier. They love their dogs very much, and if they attribute supernatural power to any object, it is probably to dogs, for the care and attention to their welfare are extraordinary" (p. 66 /untranslated/). Unfortunately, Weddell does not say anything more about this animal.

A few years later, on the first trip of the "Beagle," King:413, 444 and Fitz-Roy repeatedly observed the dog. King:529 speculated as follows: "The dogs are certainly of the domesticated kind, originally obtained, probably, from the Spanish settlements at /362/ Buenos Ayres; generally they resemble the Esquimaux breed, but are much more diminutive in size" /cited in English/. From the second journey of the "Beagle" Fitz-Roy (a):201 brought back a more extensive description of the Yamana dog (316). He was very surprised that "these dogs bark at

316. He (a):119 also occasionally referred to the neighboring Selk'nam, "accompanied by several large dogs" /cited in English/; (a):174 describes the dog of the Patagonians in much more detail. Soon after him the fleet of Captain Wilkes (a):I, 118 landed in Bahía Buen Suceso. There the latter saw

/562 cont./

•231
114

that "the natives had the common dog which they seemed to prize much" /cited in English/.

strangers with much fury; and they give tongue eagerly when hunting the otter" /cited in English/. At the same time Webster mentions the Fuegian dog (p. 109 /untranslated, but the page is in English/). Scarcely three years later Pickering:20 calls attention to the fact that "the presence of the dog among the tribes inhabiting this extreme point of America, is another fact that deserves attention" /cited in English/ (317). Simultaneously

> 317. Moreover he expressed the following conjecture: "America, when first visited by Europeans, appears to have contained but a single species of quadruped of foreign origin, the domestic dog" /cited in English/.

Wilkes (a):I, 129 (p. 114 /untranslated, but the page is in English/) and, three years later, in February, 1842, Ross (p. 122 /untranslated, but the page is in English/) refer to the constant companion of the Indian family. In travel accounts of subsequent decades up to our own day and in letters from the pens of missionaries, specific mention of the characteristics and services of the Fuegian dog is almost never lacking.

For obvious reasons the travelers, with very few exceptions, did not bother about the origin of this dog. Since most of them were not qualified, their descriptions give only an incomplete picture of the specific zoological nature of the dog. Fitz-Roy (a):201 mentioned useful details: "The dog of a Fuegian or Chonos Indian is small, active, and wiry, like a terrier with a cross of fox. His hair is usually rough, and dusky, or dark-coloured; but there are many dogs among the Fuegians almost white, or prettily spotted, some of which have fine smooth hair. All that were examined had the roof of their mouth black, the ears erect, large, and pointed, the nose sharp, like that of a fox; the tail drooping, and rather inclined to be bushy" /cited in English/. Snow (a):I, 334 points out only: "Their small, sharp, ferret-like dogs were exceedingly troublesome" /cited

1: Gusinde--289 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SHS Yahgan SHS

231
114

/562 cont./
in English/ (318). According to Lovisato (b):102, "the dog of the

318. The following report dates from the 1860's, by which time the Yamana could easily acquire European breeds of dogs because of more frequent shipping: These Indians "have two kinds of dogs: one, a native breed, small and shaggy, with a pointed snout, and the others introduced by the ships. The two breeds actually live almost exclusively on fish and mollusks, being very skill-

Fig. 68. Male and Female Dogs.

ful at catching the latter, opening them, extracting the little animal cleanly, and eating it" /translated from Spanish/ (Outes [g]:53).

Yahgan is a cross between the fox and the wolf with shaggy, light hair, long, straight, and not very large ears, and a short, pointed tail" /translated from Italian/. Spegazzini (a):163 could hardly express himself more succinctly when he says, the dog "looks much like the common fox" /translated from Spanish/. Dabbene (b):185 writes more exactly: "They are /563/ small and ugly, with long, varicolored hair, a long snout, and large ears that look like those of a fox" /translated from Spanish/ (319). Martial:194 confirms that the dog is "small

319. We shall omit here other descriptions, for example, those of Lista (b):63 and Wieghardt:33.

/363 cont./

•231 114 and ugly, its hair long and fawn-colored, and its snout pointed resembling that of a fox" /translated from French/.

Incomparably more valuable than these casual and partial descriptions is Koenchel's expert examination of two animals of pure breed. In Orange Bay Hyades acquired a newborn bitch from the Indians in January, 1883, and a male dog in February. He raised both animals himself, and since they quickly adjusted to their new masters (320). /Fig. 68 appears here/ he took them to

320. In striking contrast to full-grown animals "which do not let themselves be tamed by Europeans" /translated from French/ (Hyades [q]:363).

Paris with him in September of the same year (Fig. 68). Careful examination revealed: "As Fitz-Roy says, the dog of Tierra del Fuego is small, lively, nervous, resembling a terrier crossed with a fox; his fur is usually rough, sometimes soft, dark or blackish, but he is often completely white or nicely spotted. All the specimens examined had black palates and mouths, straight, large, and pointed ears, noses tapering like that of the fox, the tail hanging down, with a tendency to become bushy" /translated from French/. Agreeing literally with Hyades (q):364, Koenchel:138 continues: "Well proportioned in its small midriff, the Fuegian dog is characterized by straight, large, pointed ears, by his long, very pointed snout; he also looks like an animal that is more savage than domestic, shaped very much like the jackal. the color of his fur is extremely varied; it is often uniformly dull fawn-colored /564/ which increases its resemblance to this latter animal; frequently, also, the basic color is white and the body is mottled with large black (Tapar) or fawn-colored spots (Katekita) (321); thus Katekita seems to have more natural

321. These are the names of the male and female animals of the above-mentioned pair.

markings. The paws are plainly palmate. This is the physical picture " /translated from French/. This detailed description is

231 /1924 cont./
114 supplemented by Deckambre's thorough examination and by the appended measurements of the bodies of these two dogs (222).

222. Reprinted in Hyades pp.391. The less ample body measurements given by another investigator named Hocard are also published in Hyades (Ibid., p. 361). Compare also Hyades (b) 39 in connection with this whole subject.

In 1908 and 1908 Otto Nordenskjoeld brought back to Sweden the skeleton of a native dog from his journey to Tierra del Fuego. It came from an animal of the eastern Yamana, which, according to his opinion, could be regarded as one of pure breed. The skeleton was conscientiously studied by Lonnberg 16, and each individual part was measured. On the basis of it he also made comparisons with other South American canines. Unfortunately Nordenskjoeld did not leave a description of this animal whose skeleton is now in Stockholm, nor of other Yamana dogs. During a personal interview with him I learned only about the general characteristics of this zoological variety, which were already known to me.

231 177 During the years of my sojourn in Tierra del Fuego there was not a single pure-bred Indian dog left. In the case of most of the dogs one could easily see what foreign cross-breed they came from. The Whites living there introduced various breeds of dogs and distributed them among the Indians. The latter's dogs were not only very dangerous to strangers, but also caused grave injury among the breeding animals, especially among the sheep.

231 Fred Lawrence confirmed what the older natives had told me: the native dog was of medium size and had a thick, shaggy coat of medium length and predominantly dirty brown in color with irregularly distributed large light spots. The head drooped forward a little and ended in a long, pointed snout. The standing, narrow, medium-length ears were sharply pointed. The eyes were slanting. The long, bushy tail curled up in a half circle. In general the animals had a strong, firm build, but were long and lean. As recently as 1924 several Indians compared the native dog to the

/564 cont./

231 large fox, which was only somewhat smaller. Fred Lawrence described him as similar to those dogs that Europeans had brought along for journeys through the south polar regions. Long before, Wehrer had declared of the Fuegian dog, "he is very ferocious, and not unlike an Esquimaux dog" /cited in English/ (p. 109 /untranslated, but the page is in English/).

At this point I do not as yet wish to express my own view of the origin of the /565/ Fuegian dog (323). Instead, let me add

> 323. In Volume I, 98, I had indicated that I would give a final opinion about the origin and development of the Fuegian dog only after I had described the domestic dog of the Halakwulup in Volume III. In Volume I, 276, I briefly described the dog of the Selk'nam according to its zoological characteristics.

that the Yamana do not seem to have any understanding at all of how to breed a special type; in any case they do not go in for it. Hence their animals reproduce erratically, as chance brings them together. According to Kuenckel:138, the Fuegians as a whole "do not have sufficient intelligence to practice methodical selection, they let nature take its course and assert its rights; actually, the dog which is their companion is savage like themselves" /translated from French/.

We have already briefly mentioned the place of the dog in the Indian family. Every family owns several dogs, from three to eight, and each one is regarded as the property of either the man or the woman, or some other person. To have a dog as common property of all the members of the family would be an impossible idea to the Yamana. Many travellers agree in their opinion that the Fuegian has an unmistakable affection for his dogs. From a very early period comes the observation of Captain Snow (a):I, 349: "I also noticed that their dogs claimed a large share of affection" /cited in English/. They belong to the family as a matter of course (324). If one knows the Indian well, one realizes that he

324. Hyades (b):1343 says: "The dog is part

/565 cont./

231

of the Fuegian family, to which it is very much attached and which it accompanies everywhere around the hut and in the canoe" /translated from French/.

does not pay the slightest attention to his dogs, much less giving them great care or fondling them. The dogs scarcely expect the slightest attention from their master. They never expect to be fed regularly, for no one finds this convenient. Whenever any person in the canoe or in the hut is eating, the dogs crowd up and wait eagerly to see if a few scraps might be left over for them. If not, they are not disappointed. From the time they were puppies they had to become accustomed to finding their own food. Hunger drives them to the beach where, at low tide, they gnaw the outer calcareous shell of the numerous shellfish and expose the meat. They can leap high and climb bent tree trunks. If the Indian has not secured the birds or seal meat on the branches, the dogs try to get these pieces down. If they are hungry, they take skins that have just been stripped off or even hard leather. Several dogs together will even attack a guanaco and eat their fill of it, and, of course, in their restless foraging they can easily get sleeping birds or young nestlings.

Most of the dogs give an impression of terrible neglect. It is no wonder, for, as Hyades (p):331 admits, "the dogs are never cared for" /translated from French/. The sight of them does not move the Indian, however, even if they walk around battered, with /566/ broken legs, covered with scabs and sores (325). He

325. It has been proved that rabies does not occur among Fuegian dogs.

has no feeling about helping animals. Nevertheless, he would not permit another person to whip his dog, even if that person were completely justified in doing so. He himself is content to punish his dog's mistake with a blow or to drive away the culprit simply with a striking movement (326). Our Indian, however, cannot

326. Kuenckel describes the dog very precisely as "spare, inured to privations, faithful

1: Gusinde--294 S-S (1918-1924) 1937 5286 Tahgan 1886

/166 cont./

221

to his master who is attached to him but never pets him and often strikes him" /translated from French/.

being himself to kill a few animals out of a large litter, even when he already has half a dozen dogs and does not in the least need any more. He seldom leaves an island without expecting all of his animals to be in the canoe. He would never have the heart to let one or another of them shift for itself. In a fit of rage, however, he will beat his animal so mercilessly that it succumbs (327).

> 327. "The natives do not like to kill puppies, and children take a fancy to this one or that, and they are kept in a half-starved state. Unless in a passion the natives very seldom kill a dog...The natives themselves are not infrequently attacked and badly bitten by these savage dogs" /cited in English/ (Bridges, in MM.XV, 250, 1881).

From this alone we can see how mistaken Lovisato (b):150 is when he maintains that to their masters the dogs were "the dearest of their creatures, dearer than their women" /translated from Italian/. In another place (b):102, he repeats: "To the Fuegians the dogs are dearer than their women, because they catch the otter, the fox, and the birds" /translated from Italian/. In this opinion he evidently relies on the members of the "Beagle" [522] expedition, for a young Fuegian had succeeded "in persuading Fitz-Roy, as a macabre jest, that in periods of famine they began to eat old women suffocated by being held in thick smoke, whereas they saved the dogs who helped to get otters" /translated from French/. Hyades (h):39 is referring to these words when he says: "The Fuegians are evidently less attached to their dogs than to women, young or old, whom they never dreamed of eating" /translated from French/. Despite utter neglect, the dog is faithfully attached to his master, but this does not prevent him from occasionally attacking his master.

/560 cont./

• 231 We gladly admit that the Fuegian dog actually performs some services for the Indian, but we must warn of exaggeration. Kuenckel:140 is going too far when he describes the dog as "an associate, a very valuable collaborator" /translated from French/ of his master. It is true that no one likes to give up his animal to a European, but this shows only a certain attachment, not an extraordinary appreciation of the dog's achievements. Kuenckel, however, is right when (ibid., p. 139) he speaks of the dog as "extremely agile and strong in relation to his small size, very watchful and never resting, he is very crafty, defiant, and above all cunning" /translated from French/. Fitz-Roy (e):201 emphasizes other natural characteristics of these dogs. "They are exceedingly vigilant and faithful. Their sagacity is shown in many ways; and /567/ not least, in their providing for themselves, each low-water, by cunningly detaching limpets from the rocks, or by breaking muscle /sic/ and other shells, and then eating the fish" /cited in English/. As a result, the dogs cause their masters no worry and are nevertheless useful to them. Each of these animals, to a greater or lesser degree, "despite a very unsightly external appearance, possesses the qualities of its race, such as speed in running, dexterity in hunting the otter, the fox, and birds" /translated from French/ (Hyades [c]:256). It is only in hunting the otter and guanaco that the dog serves the Indian well (328), but by no means in a manner comparable to the dog

328. Compare Hahn in Hyades (c):264, Spegazzini (a):163, Lovisato (b):102, Dabbene (b):185, Martial:194, Kuenckel: 140, and others.

of the Selk'nam. Not a single Yamana actually bothers to train his dog; the things the latter does he has learned by himself or from the example of other dogs. Bridges (i):7 makes a point of saying: "Dogs are never eaten, nor are their skins used; to eat a dog would be almost as bad as cannibalism" /cited in English/.

Day and night he proves to be an extremely reliable watch-dog. He seldom leaves his master, only when he must look for food. At night he lies beside his master or on his feet. He starts up at the slightest noise outside. If steps approach, he storms at

/[illegible] cont./

•231 the newcomer in human environment. One can defend yourself against his wild attack only with a stick or by throwing stones. He is silenced only by the continuous scolding of his master. Naturally, all the other dogs from neighboring huts will promptly join a dog when he barks and storms against a stranger; all together they make such a noise that the whole camp becomes excited. Sometimes, however, they can be driven off just as quickly, and then they spend their rage in prolonged growling. Often they actually attack, but never from the front. If their barking does not make the strange visitor stop or draw back, they confine themselves to individual barking sounds with interruptions, but during one of these pauses when the stranger is unsuspecting, they will plunge their sharp teeth into his calves. They like to take advantage of the moment when he is stooping to pass through the hut entrance or when his head is turned away. Sometimes the dogs behave so madly that it takes their master a long time to calm them; only then will they permit the stranger to enter the hut without danger (XIII). In general the dogs are very easily

> XIII. A minor experience of Missionary Bridges: "We find the native dogs very troublesome, they are not half fed, and are of course all loose, and always on the look out for something to do. The other day I was passing with my two boys a parcel of dogs, which began to bark at me, and then the pack set upon me, and though I had a stick I had just as much as I could do to keep them off. One of them bit my boy's trowsers /sic:/, and no sooner were we engaged in driving away one, than another rushed on us from behind....It is absolutely necessary to take a stick when one goes to visit the natives or for a walk" /cited in English/ (MM:XV, 249;1881).

aroused and dangerous.

231
177

/1858/ It is not only the excitable exuberance of Fuegian dogs that exceedingly provokes every European, but even more their mania for destruction and their mischievousness. They enter all buildings coolly and undeterred, plunder storage rooms, and rummage through every corner. They enjoy attacking herds of sheep and goats. In order finally to get rid of these bothersome creatures, the White settlers poisoned and shot some and took others alive from the Indians in exchange for European breeds. Since all these bred unselectively among each other, the youngest mixtures resulted. With the decrease in the Indian population, however, they, too, are constantly decreasing and will disappear entirely along with the last Yamana.

8. Treatment of Foodstuffs

241

The little corner of earth that was destined as the home of the Yamana is poor in natural products. This in itself is responsible for many limitations in their means of livelihood. The natives have no choice but to be content with the little that harsh and parsimonious nature has provided for them. Unassuming as they are, they yield to the external pressure that has disciplined them to an amazing state of contentment and humility. Their attitude, however, is far from being one of dull insensibility. Our Indians have by no means lost all freedom of choice and will never, like a badly trained animal, fill their hungry stomachs indiscriminately with anything and everything that is at hand.

The Yamana is more favorably situated than the Selk'nam, because the sea offers more lavish gifts than the interior. Hence he differentiates more than the Selk'nam and shows himself more particular in his choice. He has his own guides and principles that lead him in his selection of food. They are primarily determined by taste, but not entirely, for the Fuegians consistently refuse milk, for example, which they could easily obtain from White settlers, and they have adopted other items of European food only after a long period of resistance. In times of distressing hunger they also take things out of necessity which they would decidedly scorn in ordinary life.

[232
177]

1: Gusinde--820 E-6 (1916-1924) 1937 5006 Yahgan 5006

/720 cont./

862 disgusting to the baby, and after that it stays away from its mother's breast. If they should not happen to have whale blubber, they use that of sea lion which has the same effect. After that the mother supervises what the child eats for only a short time. Bridges (a):183 says: "The food first given to children is muscles /sic/, fish, and berries" /cited in English/ (152), but for a long time the chief food

152. Hyades (a):195 likewise confirms that "the Fuegian women soon commence to add to their diet, without weaning them completely, solid food, such as baked mussels, fish, etc." /translated from French/.

is the roasted fatty tissue of the loggerhead duck, *liakui*. Of course, the infant sometimes stuffs indigestible things into its mouth if it is not closely watched, but even if it swallows them, there are hardly ever serious consequences to be feared.

271 The young mother does not give the newborn child water from
863 a /721/ brook to drink, but that taken from lagoons and ponds. The former is considerably colder and could, it seems to me, often cause colic. The Yamana give a different reason. Nelly told me that, at her husband Fred's suggestion, she gave her first-born daughter water from a brook near Punta Remolino. Her father who had more experience than Fred saw this. He told her, "Water from
[753] a brook causes worms in the belly of the child; all kinds of little animals swim around in such water. You must get water from a lagoon, that is better for the child and will keep him well!" With her other children Nelly followed this advice. She concluded with words that showed her displeasure toward her husband Fred: "Yes, indeed, the Christians [Europeans] have much less experience in such matters than my countrymen!"

•231 In Hahn (a):806 we read: "The Fuegians, according to Mr. Bridges, often suckle young dogs " /translated from French/. With regard to this I learned that very rarely and only playfully a woman will put a young puppy that is sick or has lost its mother to her breast to keep it alive.

827 I was unable to learn whether our Yamana are acquainted with
833 the physiological connection between conception and nursing in the same woman. Actually, the two spouses unite sexually on

1: Gemeinde--063 E-5 (1919-1926) 1927 Neu Yelgee 0098

/764 cont./

On most days, if the girl is not needed by her mother, she is left to her own resources. She spends these hours among her playthings. Chiefly she takes up her doll, which is extraordinarily simple and hardly deserves the name, quite in contrast to the not unattractive article that makes the Selk'nam girls happy (Vol. I, 268). A cylindrical-shaped stone the size of one's fist or a short rounded piece of wood without any finish or ornament suffices for this yékanóla. The girl caresses, cherishes, carries, and treats her little doll exactly the way a European girl does. Sometimes she even talks to it.

The child is not supposed to play with this yékanóla too long, and the adults scold her out of superstitious fear. For example, the father will say /765/ to his daughter: "If you fondle and care for this stone much longer it might turn into a Sinuluwatsgindjwa!" The latter is a person of stone in a myth told by our Yamana. Intimidated and frightened, the girl will throw the stone away and choose another as her yékanóla, or the stuffed skin of a small bird or of a young otter. They remove the skin of these animals in one piece by turning it inside out after making a short incision in the belly. Then they stuff it tightly with dried grass or rush stalks and sew it up. With touching tenderness the girl ceaselessly runs her hand up and down it, caressing the soft otter pelt.

The child also obtains a doll in another way. She takes the carcass of an adult bird, usually a wild goose or a cormorant, cuts the skin all the way round at about the center of the bird, strips it off, dries it, fills it with dry grass, and sews up the large openings. In this way the head, neck, and breast take on their natural shapes.

In imitation of some of the women, many girls constantly go after young animals, usually a newly hatched bird. They care for it and feed it with the most loving concern, play with it, and sometimes caress it rather wildly so that the tight grip or constant tugging causes the animal pain. They take it along with them on their almost daily trips and care for it until it is ready to fly. It is not customary to clip its wings in order to keep it from flying away. If only for the sake of variety, they let the animal fly as soon as it can. For this purpose they most often choose a wild goose, a wild duck, the laughing gull, kiwágu (Larus dominicanus),

/765 cont./

857 and the brown robber gull, wilaúla (Megalestris skua chilensis);
231 cormorants and penguins, which are too dirty, are less desirable. After the girls have become fond of such a bird in the course of a few weeks, they do not have the heart to kill it even if it would make a succulent roast. If one day it flies off, they follow it enthusiastically with their eyes and send good wishes after it.

857 As is well known, the bark canoe belongs entirely to the
868 woman (p. 135). For very obvious reasons the father makes a
501 small model of it for his daughter. It is like a larger canoe in every detail and is large enough for a single girl to sit in and row about. On my second journey I noticed a seven-year-old girl in Puerto Robalo who was extraordinarily skillful in managing her vessel which was 145 centimeters long. Her father had previously given her a smaller canoe. It was a charming sight when one sunny day toward noon the mother set out in her boat and was accompanied by this daughter. Each of them steered her boat into a tangle of large brown algae /766/ and they began to fish. After three hours they returned to the landing place and the girl, too, had a few pieces of booty, to the delight of her father. More often a father will give his daughter a small paddle with which she strikes the water while standing on the shore.

857 If one sums up what a solitary girl has in the way of entertainment and play, diversion, and minor manipulations, it is clear that she is not condemned to boredom and that, on the contrary, many a day will be too short for her if she has become absorbed in her play. If several children are together in the same place, they choose other forms of entertainment.

γ. Social Games

857 The designation "social games" does not precisely fit all the forms of diversion which are listed here; all I wish to express is that several children come together in them. Adults often take part in these games, but children are always in the majority.

857 By way of introduction it should be said that a tame, patient
231 dog is used by boys, as well as girls, for all kinds of jests and mad pranks. It sometimes seemed impossible to me that such an animal would take so much from foolhardy boys! They tug him around

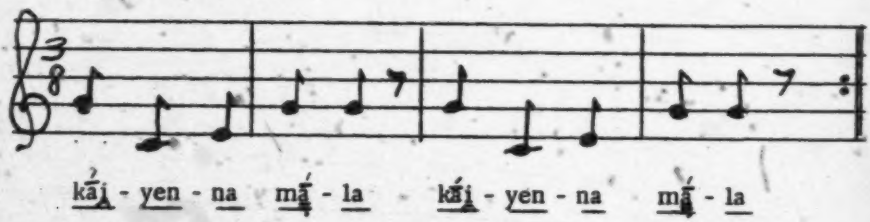
/766 cont./

857 and push him, tease and provoke him, tie his legs together, load
231 him down with all kinds of things, duck him in the water, imprison him in a hollow tree trunk stuff indigestible things into his mouth, and daub him with paint; in short, they try out the craziest notions on him. The rude handling and the sudden bursts of laughter of the children frighten the dog, but although he growls and barks, he does not have the heart to bite. This is perhaps the same animal from whose furious attacks a European can sometimes scarcely defend himself (p. 296). No matter how wildly children treat a dog, their parents do not scold them for it. Occasionally, however, a child will play very affably and affectionately with one. They all treat young animals with particular tenderness.

857 Like the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 395), Yamana children of both
524 sexes amuse themselves with a regular swing. A strong rope suffices, of the kind, for example, used in the large harpoon. Its ends are tied to a high branch, so that the middle part hangs down about half a meter above the ground. A child sits down on it, without using a special seat, and hangs on with both hands; another child starts it swinging by giving it a push. The little ones swing for hours until bad weather drives them into the hut (199).

199. Fitz-Roy (a):186 mentioned the swing: "Swinging between branches of trees, as our children do, is also a favourite pastime, the ropes being made of strips of sealskin" /cited in English/.

[33] Usually they endlessly repeat the five-syllable word kaiyennamā́la in the following rhythm: /767/



culture. If this large and expensive monograph is not accessible, the following more important papers may be consulted: Gusinde (1921–22, 1924, 1925 a, 1925 c, 1926 a, 1926 c, 1927, 1928 b, 1929); Koppers (1925 a, 1925 b, 1926 a, 1926 b, 1927, 1928 a, 1928 b).

For bibliographies of the *Yahgan* see: Cooper (1917), for sources, with comments on each, to 1917; Lothrop (1928), for sources from 1917 to 1928; Gusinde (1937), for selected and added sources, and for evaluations (pp. 48–161) of the publications of the more important first-hand observers.

Language.—The *Yahgan* language with its five mutually intelligible dialects constitutes a distinct linguistic family, with no known relationship to any other. The elder Bridges' *Yámana*-English dictionary, the one completed in 1879, contains about 23,000 words, a carefully restricted, not a padded, list, as he himself emphasized (1933, p. xvii). *Yahgan*, in contrast to *Ona*, is markedly euphonic. There were no words for numerals beyond three, and none for fractions.

Population.—According to our first dependable estimates, the *Yahgan* population, in the third quarter of the 19th century, totaled between 2,500 and 3,000 souls. In 1881 a sharp decline set in. By 1884 numbers had dwindled to about 1,000; by 1886, to 400; by 1899, to 200; by 1902, to 130; by 1913, to less than 100; by 1933 to 40. The immediate causes of the sudden drop in the eighties were the respiratory diseases and a severe outbreak of measles in 1884, followed by epidemics of typhoid, whooping-cough, and smallpox. Syphilis does not appear to have played an important role. Contributory, or rather basic predisposing, factors were, it seems, the then introduced European ways of life, especially the clothing, but also the food, alcoholic beverages, and type of shelter and work.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Foods.—The *Yahgan* had no domesticated plants, and no domesticated animals except the dog. Whether the earlier pre-Columbian and post-Columbian *Yahgan* had dogs is uncertain. No bones of dogs have been found in early archeological sites in *Yahgan* or other Fuegian territory. The earlier explorers,—L'Hermite, 1624; d'Arquistade, 1715—make no mention of the dog in their descriptions of *Yahgan* culture, as none is made of it among the *Alacaluf* by the 15 accounts of them prior to Narbrough's of 1670. The dog was first recorded among the *Yahgan* in 1823 by James Weddell; it is recorded consistently thereafter by later observers (Cooper, 1917, pp. 186–187). Dogs were not eaten.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

undermined by this animal, recall the gopher burrows in western North America. 136

The Fuegian dog is not known in a wild state, and today it is extinct, although much blood of the native breed must run in the veins of the innumerable sheep dogs and hounds to be found on the island. In height the native dog ranged from 11 to 20 inches. Their ears were pointed, muzzles sharp, and skulls broad. The markings were black and white, with tan running-gear. Like most Indian dogs they lived largely on such garbage as they could pick up around the encampment, but in times of plenty they were given meat or mussels by their masters. Also occasionally they might pull down a guanaco and enjoy a square meal before the arrival of the hunter, as illustrated in the legend of Kuanip, presented later. 231

Of the sea animals, the four kinds of seal found in Fuegian waters formed the principal meat diet of the Yahgan. Not only did they eat the seal, but they used its hide for capes, moccasins, house-tops, and thongs. It is surprising they never invented a hide boat, which would have been much less perishable than their bark canoes. The Haush also ate a great many seal, and the Ona ate seal but did not specialize in its pursuit. 136

Otter of three kinds, one living on land and two in the sea, were prized by both Yahgan and Alacaluf, who used their skins for clothing. Both these peoples attacked porpoises, and at times, when some innate instinct assured them of good weather, they pursued them far into the open sea.

To the Fuegian tribes whale was a great delicacy, and by all accounts this leviathan existed in large numbers in Fuegian waters until recently. Sometimes the Canoe Indians ventured to attack whales that had blundered into shallow water, but usually they were secured dead on the beaches. These were gala occasions, and feuds and animosities were forgotten as great numbers gathered to gorge themselves on the often putrid, diseased, and stinking flesh. When satiated, the Yahgan sometimes buried a meat supply far under ground where, were there frost, it might be preserved for many months. This custom recalls the burying of salmon on the northwest coast of North America, where the decomposed fish was mixed with oil and eaten with gusto. [251]

Fuegian waters abound in fish, both large and small, which were eaten by all the tribes. The Ona took fish from pools at low tide, 136 226

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

it would seem clear that the Ona had acquired knowledge of this weapon from the Yahgan. However, the Ona word for sling (*shínkai*) is not taken from the Yahgan, while slings are mentioned in a supposedly ancient Ona legend. Possibly then the Ona might not have borrowed the sling from their Yahgan neighbors, but in all probability they did,

FIG. 86.—Yahgan sling. Length, 27 in. (14/2351)

BIRD-SNARES

Three different forms of snare were applied to the capture of birds by the Yahgan. In all of these, active prehensile function was performed by a noose of whalebone scraped thin to make it flexible. The simplest procedure was to set such a noose over a bird's nest during its absence. Also a series of nooses might be set on a cord, staked down in an open spot, and covered with suitable bait (fig. 36A). Finally, a whalebone noose was set on the end of a pole (*aúrum*), as illustrated in fig. 87. With this implement it was possible to snare roosting birds during the night.

BIRD-CATCHING BY HAND

In addition to killing birds with arrows, slings, club and torch, and snares, the Yahgan sometimes took birds by a method which, if successful, often resulted in prodigally wasteful and unnecessary slaughter. At night a man would paddle silently to a rock where birds, preferably shags, as they are heavy sleepers, were roosting. He would steal silently ashore, and then seize the nearest bird with one hand around its wings and with the other hand pinch its windpipe so that it could neither flap its wings nor make an outcry. Then he bit off the head, placed the corpse on the ground, and went for the next bird. Thus with luck great numbers might be taken. But the steamboat duck (*Tachyeres cinereus*), a light sleeper, could seldom be captured by this method, and, if any were roosting on the rock selected, they usually gave the alarm. Fitzroy (1839, p. 184) says that the Yahgan dogs were trained to catch birds by stealing upon them as they roosted during the night.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

On Gable island and other places where birds nested the Yahgan captured the young and tamed them to frequent their wigwams until they were large enough to be eaten. The writer has seen young upland geese and gulls thus tamed. Also, in the summer, the Yahgan had special bird hunts near the breeding places, because at this time of year the birds, though nearly full-grown, have not learned to fly and may be captured by running them down.

FISH-LINE

The Yahgan fish-line, shown in fig. 88, consists of three elements: line (*tápim*), sinker (*társhir*), and bait noose (*tukaléna*). The line is of braided whale-sinew and is ten to twelve feet long. The sinker is a small stone with notches knocked in opposite sides. The noose, like the bird nooses, is a narrow strip of whalebone scraped thin and flexible with a bit of shell. In an emergency a piece of kelp was used as a fish-line.

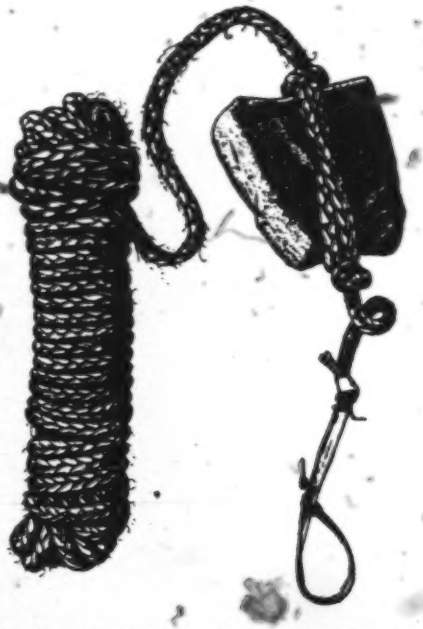


FIG. 88.—Yahgan fish-line. Length of coiled line, 6 in. (14/2375)

In order to fish, the Yahgan women paddled in their canoes to a shallow reef. There they anchored the canoe by inserting the handle of the paddle under a gunwale so that the blade projected outboard on the other side. A heavy piece of kelp was hauled across this, which not only served to prevent the canoe from drifting but also steadied it. Bait was then inserted in the noose and the line was lowered. When a fish had nibbled at and partly swallowed the bait it was pulled to the surface, seized by a quick dart of the hand, and killed by biting it in the head. Fish were cleaned as soon as they were caught by biting a hole in the belly through which the guts could be extracted with the finger.